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**SPIRITUALITY AND MAGIC:
SEARCH FOR MENTAL SECURITY IN TRAFFIC
OF THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY OF VIETNAM**

***Abstract:** The paper examines the spiritual conceptions and practices in searching for traffic safety of the Vietnamese. Based on anthropological approaches to religion, the author researches on spirituality in travelling of the Vietnamese in the Centre and points out the search for safety and control over risk in the condition of complex traffic in Vietnam. Then, the author clarifies the purpose and behaviour of religious activities and magic towards risk and search for spiritual security in transport in contemporary society of Vietnam.*

***Keywords:** Insecurity, magic, security, traffic, spirituality.*

1. History of research and theory

The World Health Organization's report on the Global Road Traffic Safety in 2015 stated that more than 1.2 million people die each year from road traffic accidents (WHO, 2015: ix). Traffic deaths ranked eighth among the leading causes of death worldwide (WHO, 2015: 1). According to a survey by the Ministry of Transportation, about 35.000 people die each year from accidents, in which traffic accidents being the leading cause of deaths of about 15.000¹. In 2015, according to the data released by the General Statistics Office, there were 22.404 traffic accidents, 8.671 people died; 5.984 were injured and 14.572 were slightly injured in Vietnam².

The World Health Organization's report on the Road traffic accidents stated that the low-income and middle-income countries have the rate of traffic accidents is twice as higher than the high-income countries (WHO, 2015: 4). The main cause is the rapid growth

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of mechanization and the lack of strategic investment in road safety and land use planning in many developing countries (WHO, 2013: 1). Deaths from road traffic accidents have increased in Vietnam and some Southeast Asian countries have been closely associated with the increase of motorized two-wheeler and three-wheeler (WHO, 2004: 73).

The tremendous loss of property and casualty caused by traffic accidents makes this issue as a concern that attracts the attention of many researchers in various fields. Research on vehicle traffic accident often focuses on technical issues and driving behaviour of people involved in traffic (Covello, William J. Burns, 1984; Paul Slovic, 2012); on the social group of the casualty (Tierney, 1999), or the mentality of the road participants (Talib Rothengatter, 1997), etc. The other studies have begun to pay attention to the cultural factors and accident control (Roni Factor, David Mahalel, Gad Yair, 2007; Nordfjærna, Simsekoglu, Rundmo, 2014).

In the past few decades, risk issues and risk control have also been a concern for sociologists and anthropologists. Roni Factor, Gad Yair and David Mahalel's sociological research has shown that the cultural factors of different social groups have involved in different levels of traffic accidents (Roni Factor, Gad Yair, David Mahalel, 2010). The research team explained that an accident is directly influenced by environmental characteristics (road design, weather, etc..) and behaviour of the driver- factors that are influenced by the personal and cultural features (Roni Factor, David Mahalel, Gad Yair, 2007: 918). The other studies on risk, such as Bourdieu's research also showed that a closed relationship between the risk and lifestyle, personal consumption (Bourdieu, 1984) or the relationship between risk and economic resources of a social group (Tierney, 1999).

The ways of reassuring and controlling the risks of everyday life have been noted by the anthropologists. Malinowski's study emphasized on the psychological function of the ritual, in which it is likely that people need rituals and magic in the greater uncertain environment. Malinowski, in his study of the magic behaviour, indicated that relieving risk by magic and religion is a special way of

helping people have confidence, persistence and optimism, improve their beliefs in defeating fear (Malinowski, 1954: 24-90).

Recently, there have been some notable studies on the dynamics and mode of controlling insecurity and risk by the spirituality in the contemporary society of Vietnam. Research of Nguyen Thi Hien showed that the risk of health does not only arise from physical insecurity, but it is also originated from the external spiritual forces. These symptoms are referred to “*yin-disease*” (bệnh âm), which is understood in religious or cultural contexts as having symptoms related to psychic³. This type of disease is effectively treated by the spiritual and religious practices (Nguyễn Thị Hiền, 2007, 2010). Vũ Hồng Thuật approaches the methods of controlling insecurity through magical rituals, spells and the effectiveness of this insecurity control achieved when the subject (emic) obeys the sacred processes and principles of the sacred artefacts (Vũ Hồng Thuật, 2002, 2013). Philip Taylor’s study indicated the role of religious practice in helping people overcome the sense of helplessness in the market, which is likely under the control of invisible forces (Taylor, 2004). Some other researchers argued that insecurity caused by the uncertain market is also a motivation for the religious practices in the contemporary society of Vietnam (Le Hong Ly, 2007; Nguyen Minh Ngoc, 2007). These anthropological studies showed the role of religious activities and magical behaviours in controlling physical and psychological insecurity.

Oscar Salemink’s Theory of Human Security and Alfred Gell’s Theory of the Agency is the basis for my research on searching for the mental security in road traffic in contemporary society of Vietnam. Based on these theoretical backgrounds combined with fieldwork results in Lao Cai, Quang Tri, Thua Thien-Hue, Da Nang, Quang Nam, this article clarifies the motivation of the religious practices and magic in relation to risk and the pursuit of safety.

When discussing the relationship between magic and art in anthropology, Alfred Gell indicated that behaviour in a specific social relation is based on the instructions (index). These are the entities

from which the observer can deduce the cause and effect, Gell called it *the abduction of agency* (sự quy kết cho ma lực) through tangible indications (Alfred Gell, 1998). Gell's point of view is quite similar to folklore's inference when it encounters risk, when the risks occur, people often attribute causes to an external force. Derive from that perspective, human beings have particular spiritual and magical behaviours to seek for safety and control of risk. These behaviours are an attempt to use deities or miracles to impact on nature. The magic power can be attributed to a person or a thing that initiates a series of causal actions of events generated by thinking, reason, or intent, rather than a connection of natural events. "The intention of magic is a cultural pattern to think of a cause, when something happens that is supposed to be intention of an agent is a person or a thing"⁴. The theory of Gell considered these magical activities as "a technique ideal" that orientates towards technical practice and systematize the technical process at the level of symbolic significance"⁵.

If Gell's research noticed to the external "magical power", Salemink viewed ritual and magic as an intrinsic active search that comes from the pursuit of human security (An ninh con người). Human Security is defined as individuals and communities being protected from threats (Commission on Human Security, 2003: 3). This concept considers an individual is the central subject of security, it is not only referenced with threats, risks or violation, but it is also extended through positive concepts. Salemink viewed human security on the aspects of anxiety, desire, ambition and social-cultural purpose (Salemik, 2007, 2010). Those are explained by Salemink in the existential security concept as an extension to the human security concept that was defined on the basis of the economic, political, ecological and physical aspects (Salemink, 2010). Focusing on the symbolic aspects of ritual to human security, he indicated the relationship between the existential security and physical (health) security and economic security. Seeking mental security in travelling is a form of existential security in connection with the pursuit of physical security. A search for mental security through religious

practice and magic is often done when insecurities cannot be resolved by other means.

Based on the viewpoint of human security, Oscar Salemink researched the religious practices as an establishment of individual identity in Vietnam. He presented four forms of insecurity that require mental adjustment, such as 1) Physical and mental health issues (required treatment); 2) Economic insecurity and market risk (seeking for fortunes); 3) Existential insecurities related to death; 4) Actively embrace risk and control of risk (Salemink, 2010: 263). Among these insecure forms, risk and control over risk in traffic is a remarkable form of insecurity. Spiritual practices in seeking for mental security in travelling are noted in the study of religious practice in contemporary society of Vietnam.

2. The cultural context of the accident and risk

The Vietnamese traditionally attached great importance to the stability in residence, “there was little need to travel or to move; if they had to travel they travelled short rather than travelling far” (Trần Ngọc Thêm, 2004: 935). With its long coastline, the interlaced system of rivers, the traditional transport of the ancient Vietnamese was mainly boats. The road network and vehicles were associated with the colonial policy of French began to be familiar to the Vietnamese at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, over the past two decades, Vietnam has been rapid development of transport, especially in road transportation. The development of the national and personal economy have promoted the boom of transportation. The difference between the rate of increase in transport with the infrastructure as well as human skills and awareness of traffic has led to accidents and risks in travelling.

The rapid development of vehicles is supposedly one of the leading causes of accidents. This expansion has become a hot issue of the State’s policy. The rapid increase in traffic accidents, besides sanctions to reduce accidents and casualties, the State has introduced measures to educate people comply with traffic regulations, controlling driving behaviour, respecting for life, building cultural

behaviour in modern transport. Even since 2012, the religious rituals for the dead by traffic accidents have become common spiritual activities in many localities.

The spiritual event, *the traffic safety year 2016, Requiem for the victims of fatal traffic accidents*, held on 13 November 2016 at Yên Tử (Quảng Ninh) showed the efforts of the National Traffic Safety Committee which has organized 5 consecutive ceremonies commemorating the victims dying from traffic accidents across the country. Though the efforts of the State, it is likely that the perception of people as traffic accidents is an unpredictable risk and out of control.

Causes of accidents, risk increase largely depends on individual behaviour. This characteristic is addressed by Bourdieu in the study of the relationship between risk and lifestyle, health behaviour and consumption feature⁶. The relation between alcohol and accidents in Vietnam clearly shows the relationship between personal life style and risk in traffic. Personal consumption can be seen in vehicles choice and devices of protection. Disregard for the devices of protection and the safety standard of vehicles is quite common, especially in the low income group. Tierney's research showed that people who have low economic resources are at the highest risk of facing misfortune and disasters (Tierney, 1999). In Vietnam, this social group has a rich spiritual life, is largely concentrated in rural areas, where are deeply influenced by folk religion with various forms of worship and magic. And the parts of the population are vulnerable and passed many risks, they have a high level of religious faith (Norris, Inglehart, 2004). It partly explains the blossoming of the spiritual life of the inhabitants in the Central Vietnam. This phenomenon does not only show the relationship between traffic and religion, but it is also a different manifestation of the rich spiritual life of the Vietnamese in the contemporary society.

3. Methods of searching for mental security

3.1. Vehicle and sacralisation

The economic development has not only led to a sharp increase of personal vehicle, a high level of risk, but it has also promoted the

return of many of the traditional forms of spirituality related to vehicle in Vietnam. The spiritual practices related to the vehicle are common, and traditional concepts and rituals are revived in new forms. Purchase a vehicle, though it is new or old, it is still a great job for the majority of Vietnamese because the vehicle is not only a precious asset but it is also a device connected with the owner's life. Thus, it is often placed in a particular relation to spirituality. The spiritual thoughts associated with a vehicle are always present because of unpredictable accidents in traffic. Understanding the "background" of used vehicles as the first consideration in the purchase of second-hand vehicles of the Vietnamese in Central Vietnam. Understanding the "history of vehicles" helps buyers feel peace of mind both technical and spiritual aspects. The vehicle that caused an accident or its owners died from an accident is often considered as "an unlucky vehicle" and it is a "foolish" action when buying this kind of vehicle.

In addition, the purchase of a new car is often prepared more thoughtfully such as choosing a good day to buy, a "good number plate", organizing a worship for the new vehicle. Buying a vehicle is an important event so the date is checked carefully. The age of the owner is referenced to the complex rules in order to choose the appropriate time (good day, good hour) to bring the vehicle home. The vehicle as a sacred entity from the beginning, bringing vehicle home is important as moving to a new house, construction of the house, the wedding, funeral ceremony.

For people in Central Vietnam, the number plate also is viewed the status of the owner, and it is associated with spiritual meaning in particular. The number plate is believed to be related to the owner's risk or luck. The vehicle number plate is often referred to the direct reference system (attributed to life cycle: birth, aging, disease, death), five elements (attributed to fate) or rules of the *I Ching* (also known as the Classic of Changes or Book of Changes) which are already prevalent among the population. Based on the spiritual concept, people often find ways to get a good number plate for their new vehicle in order to feel safe.

3.2. Precautions against mischances: accidents and external forces

After having the number plate, *the ritual for the new vehicle* (Lễ cúng xe) is considered as an important spiritual practice in the family ceremony system. The worship can be taken place every day or a monthly cycle (day 1, 14, 15, 30 according to the lunar calendar) or year cycle (end of the lunar year). The religious practice of vehicle owner can be simple with some incense sticks in front of the car or a ritual with joss papers, offerings organized by a mystery man but it has a common purpose search for safety and prevention from risk in travelling. The rituals for the new vehicle are magical acts, though its effectiveness cannot be proven by reality and its value is not verified (Kendall, 2007). Although it cannot be measured or verified by evidence (Tambiah, 1990), but it definitely gives the vehicle owner a sense of security, confidence in safety when driving on the road.

The Vietnamese consider long trips, moving in dangerous terrains, bad weather or using high-speed vehicles are potentially risky. Thus, they often pray for support from the divine or other supernatural forces. Many Vietnamese, when making a decision, starting a risky journey-or participating in traffic in literally, or in the metaphorical sense- come to a fortuneteller to have prediction, find good day to avoid mischance⁷. Discussion on the insecurity and risk of the transportation in Vietnam, Salemink stated that “Only live one day in the crazy traffic of Vietnam, the meaning of risk will become clear to outsiders, although it is fair to say that the perspective of risk of the subject and the observer is different, and it is often balanced by attributing to “fate”⁸. An accidental death is often attributed to fate such as “the fatal death on the road” (số chết đường), “wrongful death” (số chết oan), etc,.. The cause of the accident is also attributed to the external magical forces such as “being pushed by ghost”, “being blindfold by ghost”, “un lucky vehicle” It is likely that people perceive the cause of the accident derived from the external cause (spiritual cause) rather than from internal causes, where factors such as traffic conditions, vehicles and people involve in traffic play a key

role. This perception is similar to Gell's assertion that external magical forces as a cultural framework are attributed to the causes of good or bad things (Alfred Gell, 1998). The lonely spirits (cô hồn) are usually considered as the cause of the accident. Therefore, the popular object of the ritual for the new vehicle every month or the end of the year is the lonely spirits. People petition "the unknown spirits" protect their vehicle from accidents, being safe" (interview with a male, on 20 March, 2015). These unknown spirits that are the souls of dead in unusual circumstances due to traffic accidents, wars, diseases, natural disasters. Folk concept of wrongful death (chết oan) or unexpected death spirits (bất đắc kỳ tử) often do not get into their house, wander, being hunger, no one worship them so they are called "lonely spirits" or "unjust spirits" (oan hồn).

The unexpected death caused by traffic accidents has profoundly affected to the Vietnamese mentality and spiritual practices. After each fatal accident, people often believe that the soul of the deceased will be around the place of the accident, where often becomes the place of worship the unlucky spirits. In the folk consciousness, the shrines for lonely spirits are always located on the roadside related to the spiritual stories about ghost, demon, or the causes of nearby traffic accidents. The perception of misfortune on the road that attaches to the external supernatural forces such as the ghost and the lonely spirits has made the cult become important to passers.

The shrines on roadside marked the location of fatal accidents often bring fear, but the shrines for the lonely spirits are really scary places for the drivers, where the strength and power of the spirits is said to be stronger so the practice rituals for safety of passers have been taken there. My field trips at the lonely spirits shrines on the most dangerous pass in Vietnam - Hai Van pass gave us interesting stories about the ways of seeking for the mental security of the drivers. The famous danger of the pass, the catastrophic accidents, the scary spiritual stories made this lonely spirits shrine become the worship place of many people when passing through. Some drivers have time to visit the shrine, to burned incense and worship, the drivers do not have

much time can worship indirectly by giving the number of the number plate to the shrine's custodian. A small piece of paper written their names, license plates, little money was thrown in front of the shrine to ask the "help" of the shrine's custodian who pray for their car "safe" on the road. Although there is a small number of vehicle through the pass because most of the traffic goes through the Hai Van tunnel, the shrine is still a place of worship for many people, especially the car owners in the areas of Quang Tri, Hue, Da Nang, Quang Nam. It showed the link between accidents and lonely spirits in the concept of risk and control over risk of the Vietnamese in Central Vietnam.

Worship the lonely spirit has become a method of prevention the risk because the lonely spirits are viewed as an outside the society force and personal force" (Wolf, 1974), they are a pitiable object as well as an object which people are afraid, because the lonely spirits wander, destroy "they are vague, ambiguous and dangerous" (Mary Douglas, 1966). However, with the notion of "worshipping the spirits, the spirits will bless", because of lonely spirits "will accept all the pray" (Weller, 1994), the sacrifice for the lonely spirits will give the living a spiritual support such as safety in travel. This patronage is also explained by Philip Taylor that the lonely spirits "have many aspirations that are unrequited, affectionate, very moody, full of memories and so they are often grateful to those who have made they are satisfied"⁹.

3.3. Search for protection: the divine in the cabin and the divine outside the borders

While lonely spirits are considered as a force to betaken precautions, having a safety as a result of a ritual or worship with exchange, the divines are generous protectionists who protect the passersby their respect and devotion. The divine system of folk religion and the other religions is sought by believers to assume the function of reassuring, protecting them along the way. The divine system can appear secretly in the praying words, in the textual system (leaflet- só) or in the statue system placed in the car. On the textual level, this is a divine system influenced by the folk Taoism. For

example, in the leaflet (sớ cúng xe) of the ritual for the vehicle in Hue, Da Nang, there are the divines of three worlds: Heaven, Earth, Hades, space and some specific divine names such as *Ngũ phương, hành phong, hành vũ, đạo lộ thần quan*¹⁰.

The unpredictability of travel has led to the need of a spiritual force to protect in traffic. In terms of actual worship, the search for protection in travel mainly revolves around the close divines in the Vietnamese life such as Buddha, Bodhisattva, God, Our Lady, Mother goddesses, In these forms of worship, Quan Yin Bodhisattva and Virgin Mary are the most common symbols. Safety, protection people from accidents and sufferings is a dominant function, the Quan Yin image is widely used, this bodhisattva statue is glued to the head of the motorcycle, installed in the car cabin as a spiritual solution in the pursuit of safety, prevention from risk.

The Quan Yin statue is often sacralized by a ceremony in the Buddhist temple or aritual. Statue placement is often accompanied by a ritual for the vehicle organized faithfully. It is similar to the Buddhist, Catholics also decorate the image of Mary in the car because they believe that Mary is the divine who rescues them on the roads. We are often passenger on the itinerary Đà Nẵng - Hồ Xá (Quảng Trị), we have had a chance to contact with car owners who are Catholics, we have known that the statue of Mary, of Jesus on the cross, the cross was prayed by priest before placing into the car¹¹. Symbols of protection in religions are always the symbols found in the shrines arranged inside the cabin. The sacred symbols, drivers believe they are protected from dangers that may occur at any time on the road to help the driver gain reassurance on the dangerous paths.

The car is sacralized, the space inside is a religious space, it is also the magical space. The most common form of magic is the amulets, talismans or mascots put in the car "pray for security, avoid risks". The choice of a certain mode of magic depends on the individual's beliefs, interests, and circumstances, but the amulets, mascots are more common. Vu Hong Thuat's study of amulets indicated that people who always travel on long distances often use amulets to protect them

safely, change unlucky thing to lucky thing (Vu Hong Thuat, 2008). The amulets carried beside body or put in the car are often sacralized by a magician or a Buddhist monk. The amulets for vehicle are gradually popular because they are widely sold in the market, convenient, easy to hide so they do not affect the car interior aesthetics. According to Malinowski, magic is used to solve the uncertainty and uncontrollability that people face in their life. Today, the religious practice and magic has been flourished at a time when the domestic market economy is open to the world, the human health is insecurity due to food, illness and diseases caused by the environmental insecurity, and an increase in traffic accidents¹². The “blooming” of these spiritual and magical practices have showed an insecurity, a risk of traffic being out of control led people to seek additional protection from the external forces, pursuit of safety.

The spiritual basis of the traditional religion and rituals, folk magic is not likely the only cultural framework for the Vietnamese to seek spiritual security in the transport. In a field trip at Lao Cai, we found that the use of charms or mascots for vehicles has crossed the national and cultural borders. Mr. Nguyen H., owner of a restaurant in Sapa, told us that the Tibetan bell in his car was imported from Hà Khẩu, the talisman put in front of the steering wheel was brought from a magician in Kunming, China. According to Mr. H., his car charms bought from China because in Lao Cai there are not many magicians to make car charms, only common charms. He is afraid that the common charms are not effective, so he asked a friend search for Chinese charms. The use of the Chinese charms is a way to find the other cultural pattern in the search for safety and control of risk, the pattern is considered to be more effective than the local culture pattern in protecting life and vehicles.

It is also a story of choosing a cultural pattern outside the national boundaries, but the story of Mr. Vương showed a reversal attitude. He is a Vietnamese overseas, originated from Tra Vinh, settled in California, working for an electronics company, and he spent more than an hour driving to work every day. During five years, from 2010 to 2014, he

suffered from three car accidents, the unusual thing led his wife returned to Vietnam to meet a fortune teller to find the cause. Her granddaughter came to a high-ranking Buddhist monk in Hue. The monk said that Mr. Vuong was scolded by “Bà Cô” (a young girl of the clan died), has to “organize a ritual”. In August 2014, he returned to Vietnam, his hometown in Tra Vinh to visit the ancestral graves and the grave of Bà Cô and then came Hue ask the monk organize the ritual. A ceremony was performed at the monk’s residence with vegetarian offerings and joss papers. At the end of the ceremony, Mr. Vuong burned a large amount of joss papers to express his sincerity. In July, 2016, I contacted with Mr. Vuong he said that after the return to Vietnam to worship, so far he has not encountered any accidents. He believed his spiritual practice in Vietnam has brought results. Thus, although living in the United States, Mr. Vuong has returned to the traditional Vietnamese culture pattern to find the cause for his consecutive accidents and solved with a ritual for the ancestors and divines in the traditional way. Search for security by the return is called “warm hug” of nostalgic relationships with the “community” by Zygmunt Bauman¹³. It is similar to the attempt to find the originality of religious practices of the shamans in San Jose in Nguyen Thi Hien’s research of “medium cross-countries”. Thus, the pursuit of safety and control over risk through spirituality is free, individual and spiritual activities. The subjects can search for available cultural patterns or move in a personal spiritual direction to find another cultural pattern as long as their practices help them solve insecurity and find a mental safety.

It can be said that the lonely spirits and the divines are the two fundamental counterparts in the concept of risk and control over risk of the Vietnamese in the Centre. The lonely spirits are considered as a threatening force that needs to be prayed through the mutually beneficial rituals. The divine system of folk religion and other religions is empowered to meet the needs of seeking protection and prevention from risks in traffic. These spiritual forces are found in various cultural patterns, where the power limits, boundaries of religion, or national boundaries are extended.

Conclusion

By referring to the concepts, the religious practices and magic related to traffic, the author indicates some methods of controlling over risk, seeking for mental security in travel of the Vietnamese. Accordingly, it is different from Tambiah's view that science and technology will eradicate the need and the religious needs of ritual. For the contemporary Vietnamese, in terms of the development of automotive technology, motorcycles and the dominance of scientific thinking, the search for safety and control of risks in traffic still exists through the religious ceremonies or ancient magical forms.

The cultural dynamics of the Vietnamese in searching for safety and controlling over risk is really diverse with many dimensions of faith as well as cultural patterns. Insecurity in traffic derived from precautions unpredictable accidents led the Vietnamese to search for the protection of many supernatural forces by religious practices, magic. The Vietnamese seek safeguard in a relatively broad spectrum of culture, where on the basis of their religious beliefs, they are free to choose their own cultural patterns, mental security in a world of insecurity and uncertainty. The protectors are present everywhere such as the wandering spirits on the way, the divinities dwell in front of the car, in the cabin, or the supernatural powers beyond the national borders. This shows that there is still a deep spiritual world exists permanently in the daily life of the contemporary Vietnamese. It is flexible, adaptable and harmonious in a changing society.

Regardless of the perspective, the spiritual practices always have values for an individual or a social group. Its existence as a part of the Vietnamese culture is still essential in a modern society. As Malinowski stated that *a culture necessarily meets the need for a society and its members on the cultural and psychological level, the religious rites are useful for society, for each individual, it can be said that magic can help individuals escape from difficulties.* /.

Notes:

- 1 Lễ công bố kết quả khảo sát tại nạn thương tích ở Việt Nam, Hà Nội, 4/5/2012. (An Announcement of the Results of the Accident Survey in Vietnam, Hanoi, 4 May 2012).
- 2 Tổng cục Thống kê, “Thông cáo báo chí về tình hình kinh tế- xã hội năm 2015”. (General Statistics Office of Vietnam, *Press Release on the Socio-Economic Situation in 2015*).
- 3 Nguyễn Thị Hiền, “Bệnh âm: chẩn đoán và chữa bệnh trong lên đồng của người Việt” trong Lương Văn Hy và các cộng sự (2010), *Hiện đại và động thái của truyền thống ở Việt Nam: Những cách tiếp cận nhân học*, Tập 2, Nxb. Đại học Quốc gia Tp. Hồ Chí Minh: 37. (“Diseases from Hades: Diagnosis and Treatment in a Ritual of the Mother Goddess Worship by Vietnamese” in Luong Van Hy et al (2010), *Modern and Traditional Changes in Vietnam: Anthropological Approaches*, Vol. 2, Ho Chi Minh City: National University Publisher, p. 37).
- 4 Alfred Gell (2007), “Nghệ thuật và ma lực: Một lý thuyết nhân học” trong Laurel Kendall (tuyển chọn) Nguyễn Thị Hiền dịch, *Hợp tuyển những phương pháp tiếp cận nhân học về tôn giáo, nghi lễ và ma thuật*, (Lưu hành nội bộ), Bảo tàng Dân tộc học Việt Nam, Hà Nội: 149-150. (“Art and Magic: An Anthropological” in Laurel Kendall (Selector) Nguyen Thi Hien trans., *A Selection of Anthropological Approaches to Religion, Ritual, and Magic*, (Internal Circulation), Hanoi: Vietnam Museum of Ethnology, pp: 149-150).
- 5 Alfred Gell (2007), “Kỹ thuật và ma thuật”, trong Laurel Kendall (tuyển chọn), Nguyễn Thị Hiền dịch, *Hợp tuyển những phương pháp tiếp cận nhân học về tôn giáo, nghi lễ và ma thuật*, (Lưu hành nội bộ), Bảo tàng Dân tộc học Việt Nam, Hà Nội: 77. (“Technique and Magic” in Laurel Kendall (Selector) Nguyen Thi Hien trans., *A Selection of Anthropological Approaches to Religion, Ritual, and Magic*, (Internal Circulation), Hanoi: Vietnam Museum of Ethnology, p: 77).
- 6 Following: Roni Factor, Gad Yair, and David Mahalel (2010), “Who by Accident? The Social Morphology of Car Accidents”, *Risk Analysis*, Vol. 30, No. 9: 1412
- 7 Oscar Salemink (2010), “Tìm kiếm an toàn tinh thần trong xã hội Việt Nam đương đại”, trong *Hiện đại và động thái của truyền thống ở Việt Nam - Những cách tiếp cận nhân học*, Tập 2, Nxb. Đại học Quốc gia Tp. Hồ Chí Minh: 15. (“Searching for the Spiritual Security in Vietnam Society” in *Modern and Traditional Changes in Vietnam: Anthropological Approaches*, Vol. 2, Ho Chi Minh City: National University Publisher, p. 15).
- 8 Oscar Salemink (2010), “Tìm kiếm an toàn tinh thần trong xã hội Việt Nam đương đại”, trong *Hiện đại và động thái của truyền thống ở Việt Nam - Những cách tiếp cận nhân học*, Tập 2, Sđd: 15.
- 9 Following: Kirsten W. Endres (2010), “Với linh hồn người đã mất: lễ gọi hồn và tạo dựng tính hiệu nghiệm qua lực ngôn hành”, trong *Hiện đại và động*

- thái của truyền thống ở Việt Nam - Những cách tiếp cận nhân học*, Sđd: 56. (With the Soul: A Conjuring Ritual and Creating Efficacious in Words and Deeds” in *Modern and Traditional Changes in Vietnam: Anthropological Approaches*, *ibid*, p. 56.
- 10 Sớ Hoàn Nguyên vùng Huế cung
thỉnh: 上中下分三界天曹地府陽間尊位聖神炤監(*thượng trung hạ phân tam giới thiên tào, địa phủ, dương gian tôn vị thánh thần chiếu giám*), cùng 五方行風行雨道路神官, 侍從部下(*Ngũ phương, hành phong, hành vũ, đạo lộ thần quan và thuộc hạ theo hầu*).
- 11 Nhật ký điền dã, phỏng vấn chủ xe Hoàng Nam ngày 16/10/2015. (Fieldwork Diary, the interview of Hoang Nam Car Owner on 16 Oct. 2015).
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